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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE AMERICAN NOVEL IN GERMANY
1871-1913

BY
CLEMENT VOLLMER
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A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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PREFACE.

The data presented in this volume was collected during the author's sojourn in Berlin, from April to September, 1914. The results as formulated here claim to be merely an objective description of facts, arranged in the form of a chronological study. The aim has not been to draw broad and final conclusions from these facts, but rather to pave the way for later detailed investigations of the relative importance which individual American novelists attained in Germany within the period bounded by the Franco-Prussian War and the Great World War of 1914. It was in fact the outbreak of the present war in August, 1914, with its attendant confusion and governmental limitations placed upon otherwise accessible bibliographical data, which prevented a more searching investigation and the drawing of more definite conclusions than those which this work ventures to assert.

The Bibliography (Chapter III) claims to be a complete list of American novels of the post-Civil War novelists published in Germany in both English and German. The omission of numerous writers of unliterary sensational fiction requires no apology. The novels are grouped according to an alphabetical tabulation of authors and under each author follow the strict chronological order of publication, in so far as the exact date of publication was ascertainable.

The investigation was undertaken at the suggestion of the much lamented Professor Marion Dexter Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, to whose memory the author owes a deep debt of gratitude for his constant inspiration and guidance. For helpful suggestions and the extension of special privileges which facilitated the gathering of material, many thanks are due to Dr. Drechsler, Chief of the Amerika Institut in Berlin, to the officials of the Research Division of the Königliche Bibliothek of Berlin, and to many publishers and booklovers of Germany who made otherwise inaccessible facts available.

Clement Vollmer.

Philadelphia, May 15, 1918.

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THE AMERICAN NOVEL IN GERMANY, 1871-1913.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The period between the years 1871 and 1913 is too recent to enable us to form an absolutely accurate opinion and a final judgment concerning the value of its literature. The novels which were written in these years in America may either win for themselves a prominent place in the hall of literary fame or they may be forgotten by the generations and centuries which are to follow. W. J. Long¹ says: "There was once a wise man named Archimedes, who said that he could move the world if he had a lever long enough and a place to stand on. So the historian might with confidence speak of his own age if he could remove himself to the distant future and view the present event in its historic perspective, that is, in its relation to other events, past and to come." However, uncertain though our judgment may be of the immediate present and past, we are at least able to determine the extension of interest which our literature has attained, even if only for the time being, in foreign lands, and it is the immediate purpose of this investigation to indicate the degree which that interest has attained in Germany and German Austria.

The year 1871 has been roughly chosen as a starting point for various reasons. In the first place, it was this year which gave birth to the new German Empire and marked the beginning of an era in which Germany has played so prominent a rôle in "Weltpolitik," as well as in the arts, the sciences and commercial affairs.

For the United States there was also a literary rejuvenation at about this time. In his General Survey of American Litera-

¹ *American Literature*, New York, 1913, p. 147.

ture since the Civil War, H. S. Pancoast declares that² "it has not been remarkable for the depth or eloquence of its weightier prose, or for the brilliancy and insight of literary criticism, but in its fiction it has made a distinct and notable contribution to literature." It has been the custom to trace this new movement in American Literature as dating from the end of the Civil War, but the chief school of fiction, the realistic school, led by Howells and James, did not really begin until after 1870. The prose novel assumes a "tyrannous central position,"³ because of its direct appeal to all classes of people. Especially is this noticeable after 1876, since which date "nearly two hundred good writers and perhaps a thousand good volumes have appeared" on the American fiction market. Twenty years later, in 1896, we read:⁴ "The magnitude of the flood of novels and tales that now surges through newspaper and magazine, and in bound form sweeps other literary products from the bookstands, almost exceeds belief." Stedman says:⁵ "The elder poets fully met the need for idyllic verse, relating to home, patriotism, religion, and the work-day life of an orderly people. They did not scrutinize and vividly present the coils of individual feeling. Our people have outgrown their juvenescence, tested their manhood and now demand a lustier regimen. They crave the sensations of mature and cosmopolitan experience, and are bent upon what we are told is the proper study of mankind. The rise of our novelists was the answer to this craving. They depict life as it is, though rarely, as yet, in its intenser phases." When Edward Fawcett complained, shortly after the Civil War, that "just now it is surely the twilight of our American novelists," he was stating the truth, for this new revival of the realistic novel had not yet noticeably developed. By the end of Grant's second term, 1877, the "complete restoration of the Union, the spread of new states from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the significant

² *An Introduction to American Literature*, New York, 1898, p. 309.

³ Richard Burton: *Literary Leaders of America*, New York, 1904, p. 313.

⁴ Pattee: *A History of American Literature*, Boston, 1896, p. 422.

⁵ *Poets of America*, Boston, 1886.

⁶ W. J. Long: *American Literature*, New York, 1913, p. 270.

Centennial Exposition of 1876" had taken place. These marked the opening of the new era of this republic and with it the beginning of the great development of the American novel.

As if to make the new epoch in the American novel an entirely and not only a partly new one, we find that almost all the great novelists of the earlier days died before the rejuvenation of our fiction set in. Among these are Simms (1870), J. P. Kennedy (1870), Scalsfield (1864), Hawthorne (1864), Miss Sedgwick (1867), Cooper (1851), James Kirke Paulding (1860), Washington Irving (1859), Poe (1849). In England, the death of Dickens (d. 1870) and Bulwer-Lytton (d. 1873), also marked the end of the old and the beginning of the new epoch.⁷

Let us make a rapid preliminary survey of the extent and growth of Germany's interest in and knowledge of American literature. In an early work, Ludwig Wachler's *Lehrbuch der Literaturgeschichte*,⁸ we find references to American literature only on one page.⁹ In speaking of Walter Scott's supreme position as English novelist, he says: "er hat in Washington Irving einen würdigen Nebenbuhler gefunden; manche neuere Erscheinungen (v. Allan Cunningham, d. etwas dürftig-breite N. Am. James Fenimore Cooper u. a.) sind vielversprechend." It was some time after this that Cooper became really known to the German reading public, but once aroused, their interest in his works shows no signs of weakening, even at the present day.¹⁰ Brander Matthews correctly said of Cooper: "The first American author to carry our flag outside the limits of our language." Miss Maclean has pointed out ¹¹ the immense popularity in Germany of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, after its publication in America in 1852. It

⁷ Cf. also Alphonso Smith: *Die Amerikanische Literatur* (Vol. II of the *Bibliothek der amerikanischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1912), pp. 22, 29, 33, 34, 217 and 307, for an excellent description of the new awakening in American Literature after 1870. Cf. also F. L. Pattee: *American Literature Since 1870*, New York, 1915.

⁸ 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1830.

⁹ P. 381.

¹⁰ As recently as 1909, Karl Federn published his translation of Cooper in Germany.

¹¹ *Americana Germanica*, Vol. X, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in Germany.

has gone through no less than seventy-five separate editions in Germany since that time. Johannes Scherr's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur* gives us another means of judging the attitude of German literary critics and historians toward our literature. In the first edition of this work (1851), Cooper is given a half-page description, but is chiefly branded as an imitator of Scott.¹² He then blandly adds: "Brown, Neal, Paulding, Hoffman, Bird, Simms, Anna Sedgwick u. andere waren tätig im Roman." Washington Irving is honored with fourteen lines and described as an imitator of Dickens. In the third edition of 1869, although "neu verarbeitet und stark vermehrt," the only addition among American authors is a short footnote on Poe (d. 1849). In the fourth and fifth editions¹³ of this same work the additions consist of one line concerning Hawthorne and the following list: "B. Taylor, R. H. Stoddart, J. R. Lowell, G. H. Baker, Th. B. Aldrich, J. A. Dorgan, J. J. Pratt and Walt Whitman, in welchen letztgenannten die eine Hälfte seiner Landsleute einen grossen Dichter, die andere einen grossen Narren sieht." Although written in 1875, there is no mention of Bret Harte or Mark Twain. In the sixth edition of 1880, we find the statements of the previous editions unchanged, Hawthorne is brushed aside with "der phantastisch-humoristische Novellist N. Hawthorne lehnt sich an Poe," and this important addition:¹⁴ "In den Erzählungen und Schildereien von Th. B. Aldrich und M. Twain tritt die humoristische Auffassungs- und Betrachtungsweise von Welt und Menschen ebenfalls in den Vordergrund, wogegen der Novellist W. D. Howells mehr die pathetische Seite der Erscheinungen des Lebens hervorkehrt." Whitman receives an unfavorable footnote as his portion.

From this cursory treatment it would appear as if American literature had not aroused sufficient interest in Germany to

¹² This indicates a decided lack of appreciation of our literature which among some German critics has persisted to this day. At the time of Cooper's death (1851) he had already been translated and published countless times in Germany, but the notion among certain Europeans that whatever is American cannot be of permanent value was strikingly illustrated in his case.

¹³ 1872, 1875.

¹⁴ P. 119.

call forth histories of its literature written in German and by Germans. However, as early as 1868, Brunnemann published his *Geschichte der Nordamerikanischen Literatur*. In 1883, Eduard Engel issued his *Geschichte der amerikanischen Literatur*. He published this as an appendix to his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* in the later editions. The second edition appeared in separate binding in 1897, but in it he doubts "ob eine Litteratur, die überhaupt erst seit wenigen Jahrzehnten anfängt unabhängig von der englischen sich zu entwickeln, schon für eine geschichtliche Darstellung genügendes Material liefert, muss bezweifelt werden." Two works had appeared before Engel's: Ernst Otto Hopp's *Unter dem Sternenbanner (Streifzüge in das Leben und die Literatur der Amerikaner)*, (Bromberg, 1877), und Rudolf Doehn's *Aus dem amerikanischen Dichterwald* (Leipzig, 1881). In 1891 there appeared the most pretentious work of all, Karl Knortz' *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (2 vols., Berlin, Lustenöder). This was followed in 1898 by E. P. Evans' *Beiträge zur amerikanischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*. Finally, in 1912, Kellner's *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (2 vols.), was published in the Göschen series.¹⁵

During all this time the Germans were in fact taking a genuine interest in our literature. One critic writes in 1876: "Die Amerikaner haben auf einem ganz eigenen Boden, in ganz eigener Luft, und in einem ganz eignen Geiste geschichtlicher Entwicklung ein ganz eignes Leben und somit auch eine ganz eigne Literatur. Obgleich sie noch immer wesentlich mit Leben und Literatur Englands und Deutschlands zusammen hängen und englisch wie deutsche Geisteswerke immer frisch bei sich einbürgern, haben sie doch längst auch auf eigne Weise denken und dichten gelernt."¹⁶ In the same year another reviewer calls his readers' attention to Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature from the earliest time to the year 1873*: "Sie ist an und für sich eine ganze, für die gewähltesten Familienkreise passende Biblio-

¹⁵ These works and others are discussed in more detail in Chap. II(d) of this study.

¹⁶ *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, April 15, 1876, p. 228.

thick amerikanischer Belletristik."¹⁷ Moreover, even after the new era of the American novel had begun between 1870 and 1875, interest did not wane in many of the old favorites. Cooper remained the most popular American author for many years: Harriet Beecher Stowe's latest works were read with avidity, and the critics speak highly of her "ausgesprochen nüchterne Prosa."¹⁸ But lest his readers forget, we find the reviewer of Richardson's *Primer of American Literature*,¹⁹ reminding them that "Namen wie die von Washington Irving, Longfellow, Bret Harte, Bayard Taylor, erinnern uns, dass es auch jenseits des Oceans eine Literatur giebt, die es verdient, dass wir Deutsche uns eingehend und voll Interesse mit ihrer Entwicklung und Geschichte beschäftigen."²⁰

In spite of this and the literary histories mentioned above, American literature has not yet been fully recognized in Germany as distinct from the English. It is gratifying to note that Wülker's *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, usually considered the best German work on this subject, does not mention our literature. Körting's *Grundriss der englischen Literatur*,²¹ however, still considers our literature more or less British and gives short notes on American authors and refers the reader to the Tauchnitz Catalogues for further information. The Tauchnitz edition is still generally called the *Collection of British Authors*,²² although sixty-eight of its four hundred and ninety authors are American²³ (works by Cooper and Irving being among the first volumes published 1841-1847), and among them are the very best sellers. Germans themselves realize this failure to properly recognize American literature, as e. g. when Dr. H. Schmidt²⁴ speaks of "die mangelhafte Berücksichtigung, die die englische Literatur Amerikas noch immer selbst in den neuesten Werken über eng-

¹⁷ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 30, 1876, p. 577.

¹⁸ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 9, 1876, p. 530.

¹⁹ Boston, 1879.

²⁰ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, June 21, 1879, p. 394.

²¹ 2nd ed.

²² Cf. any volume of Kayser's *Bücher-Lexikon*.

²³ Up to June, 1914.

²⁴ *Die Neueren Sprachen*, Vol. 3, p. 611 (1896).

lische Literatur findet."²⁵ E. P. Evans, born in America, but a German citizen since 1870, has heroically defended our literature and accuses the British of attempts to prove that Irving and Cooper were British-born, "aber die reichhaltige und eigenartige Entwicklung der amerikanischen Literatur und das unverkennbare Nationalgepräge, welches sie führt, lässt derlei Verwechslungen, selbst mit dem bösesten Willen, kaum mehr vorkommen. —Nur Herr Baron v. Tauchnitz scheint immer noch bei dem alten Glauben zu bleiben, dass es keine amerikanische Literatur gebe, sonst wäre es ja unerfindlich, wie er die bekannte Schriftsteller Hawthorne, Henry James, Aldrich, Howells, Harte, Longfellow und noch viele andere unter 'British authors' subsumieren und als solche verlegen kann."²⁶ H. H. Ewers has recently written a *Führer durch die moderne Literatur*,²⁷ in which three hundred authors from all countries are presented as "die geistige Elite der Kultur unserer Zeit in literarischer Beziehung." The only Americans who are considered as deserving mention are Poe, Mark Twain, and Walt Whitman, the author deploring the fact that "der Amerikaner Walt Whitman, Leute wie Schlaf und andere eine Zeitlang in seinen Bann zog." Similar treatment is accorded American literary men in Carl Schmidt's *Der moderne Roman*,²⁸ in which Upton Sinclair is the only American discussed in a long list of German, French, Russian, English and Italian novelists. On the other hand, Keiter und Kellen's *Der Roman*²⁹ finds space for seventeen American novelists, including all the important ones since 1870 with a few exceptions.

In spite of this apparent ignoring of American men of letters and the seeming lack of appreciation by literary historians in Germany of our right to a place in the literary sun, conditions are not such as we might judge them off-hand to be. We certainly

²⁵ Even in this statement, much as the writer would like to see American Literature receive a more prominent recognition in Germany, he can only think of achieving this greater prominence by incorporating a more extensive account of our literature in the *Histories of English Literature*.

²⁶ *Beiträge*, etc., p. 109, Cotta, 1898.

²⁷ Berlin, 1906.

²⁸ Osnabrück, 1908.

²⁹ Essen-Ruhr, 1908.

cannot agree with Miss Colbron,³⁰ that "until a few years ago American literature in its modern form, began and ended with Bret Harte and Mark Twain as far as they (*i. e.*, the Germans) were concerned." Nor can we adopt the standpoint of Charles A. L. Reed, who has discovered that there are many people in Germany who speak English. He says:³¹ "The American, however, who felicitates himself that, even in the cities (of Germany) mentioned, the interest in the English language engenders interest in the literature of America is doomed to disappointment: for whatever interest is thus aroused centers in the literature of England; to which country rather than to America, all literature in the English language is most frequently attributed."

That not only Bret Harte and Mark Twain, but a large number of other American novelists are eagerly read and their latest works diligently sought after, and that these are recognized by most of their readers as American and not British, will be developed in the course of this study.

CHAPTER II.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY.

(a) *Certain Limitations.*

In making a chronological study of the American novel in Germany after 1870, certain limitations must be borne in mind. It would be useless to make the treatment absolutely exhaustive, for the reason that there are almost countless American authors who appear only in our nickel- and dime-novel form, but are nevertheless translated and made commercially valuable by enterprising German publishers. This ephemeral "Revolver-fiction," as the Germans call it, redounds neither to our credit nor does it add to the culture of Germany, nor does it enhance our literary

³⁰ *The Bookman*, March, 1914, p. 45 ff.

³¹ *Review of Reviews*, Vol. 29, p. 459 (1904).

reputation among certain indiscriminating German critics who look upon these works as typical American literature. Such names therefore as Old Sleuth, Frank Pinkerton, Lawrence Lynch, Bertha M. Clay and an endless list of their confreres, though translated and eagerly bought and devoured by the *Gassenpöbel*, cannot form part of our investigation. Where such authors, however, such as Anne Katherine Greene, have had an astounding success and have appeared in more expensive editions, they will come within the scope of this study.

Further, let it be borne in mind that this treatment aims to give the extent to which American novelists have been translated and published in Germany, only however in so far as they really represent the *new* American novel, which began to develop around 1870. Many of the older authors continued to be published in Germany after this date, notably Cooper, Sealsfield, Walt Whitman, Artemus Ward, Hawthorne, Poe,³² etc. These men had either died before the new American novel came into being, or, with a large number of minor novelists, continued to represent the old school of novelists which had done its chief work before the rise of Harte, Twain, James and Howells. They are therefore not considered as coming within the limitations of this work.

There are certain other authors who carried the American spirit and ideal, or, more properly, their own often distorted interpretation of that spirit, into Germany. Because they were not novelists, they cannot be treated here, in spite of the fact that their works have been so widely spread throughout Germany that they have done much to influence the opinion which Germany has of us. Among these, the most prominent have been

³² Translations:

Emerson—Karl Federn, Halle, 1897.

Poe—Lachmann, Berlin, 1891.

H. & A. Moller-Bruck, Minden, 1901.

Whitman—Knortz u. Rolleston, Zürich, 1889.

K. Federn, Minden, 1904.

Schoelermann, Leipzig, 1904.

Franklin—Friedrich Kapp, Berlin, 1882.

Hawthorne—Kuenstler, Leipzig.

Parkman—Kapp, Stuttgart, 1875.

Andrew Jackson Davis, Ralph Waldo Trine, whose *In Tune with the Infinite* was recently the most widely read American book in Germany, Orison Swett Marden and Sheldon Leavitt. Other more familiar names, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Helen Keller, Andrew Carnegie and William James found a great response to their literary efforts among the higher classes in Germany.

For convenience sake, it has been thought wise to group the publications between 1871 and 1890 in four distinct subdivisions (1871-1876, 1877-1882, 1883-1886, 1887-1890). After 1890 certain important events make it advisable to discuss each year separately up to and including 1913.

(b) *The History.*

In 1871, 1872 and 1873 Germany was still in the process of readjusting herself after her war with France and the establishment of the German Empire. There seems to have been little or no demand for foreign authors so that in the year which saw the conclusion of peace, only one work of the newer American school came into being. It was Charles Dudley Warner's (1829-1900) *My Summer in a Garden*. This was published at Leipzig by Löwe, and created a very good impression. What pleased particularly was the description of Paris in its imperial gala array of 1868, prior to the terrible events which followed—war and revolution. A critic remarks: "Es tat unserem deutschen Herzen wohl, solche Worte zu lesen wie: 'One gets to love Germany and the German as he does no other country and people in Europe. . . .'"³³

The only novel which can be definitely fixed in 1872 is Louisa M. Alcott's *Ein Mädchen aus der guten alten Schule*.³⁴ The work appeared in better binding than Warner's book of 1871 and cost Mk. 7.50. Evidently the edition did not sell as rapidly as expected at this price, for in 1874, when the next edition appeared the price had been reduced to Mk. 6. But, as we shall see, Miss Alcott became very popular in Germany five years later.

³³ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Nov. 9, 1872, p. 586.

³⁴ Stuttgart, Nitzschke, 1872.

In the years 1871-1876, Baron Tauchnitz, who had been publishing British and American novels since 1841, began to offer to Germany the first volumes of the new American novel. It is not surprising that Bret Harte and Mark Twain, who were destined to become the most popular of all American writers and strong rivals of Cooper in the esteem of the German people, lead the procession. Of Bret Harte's works, *Idyls of the Foot-hills*, *Prose and Poetry* and *Gabriel Conroy*, the latter being the author's only attempt at a full-length novel, appeared. Of Twain's works only the *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was published. But other Tauchnitz editions of this period marked the opening of a great future popularity, e. g., Miss Alcott's *Little Women*. F. L. Benedict's *St. Simon's Niece* and N. Sheppard's *Shut up in Paris* belong to this period, but neither one of these authors ever appeared again in German publishing houses.

The first translation of Bret Harte came out in 1873, being *Kalifornische Novellen*.³⁵ In the following year the firm of Grunow in Leipzig read the public mind with sufficient accuracy and began to issue its series of *Amerikanische Humoristen*. Between 1874-1876, eleven volumes were issued in this series, two by Aldrich, six by Mark Twain (Charles Dudley Warner being co-author of *Das vergoldete Zeitalter*), two by Artemus Ward and one by Max Adeler. Adeler received praise from a critic because he amuses his readers "ohne Verletzung der die englische Sprache in ihrer Construction und Orthographie regelnden Gesetze,"³⁶ a thing which Artemus Ward and other humorists were constantly guilty of. In 1874 the first novel of Elizabeth Prentiss to appear in Germany, *Fritz und Marie und Ich*, was published by Nusser at Itzehoe. The edition was very cheap (75 Pf.), but the next year, 1875, *Die Perle der Familie* appeared in Basel and gave her a more general reputation than the first work. Harte's *Argonauten Geschichten* appeared this year with Grunow.

In 1876, Miss Prentiss seems to have become known, for

³⁵ Leipzig, Quandt und Händel, 1873.

³⁶ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 8, 1877, p. 548.

Schneider in Basel published another of her books, *Die Familie Percy*. In this year Grunow followed up his *Amerikanische Humoristen* series of 1874-1876, with a new series of *Amerikanische Novellisten*. Here Henry James, Jr., greets the German public for the first time with his *Ein leidenschaftlicher Erdenpilger* and *Roderick Hudson*. These two novels and Harte's *Gabriel Conroy* complete the series. But it did not complete the translation and publication of *Gabriel Conroy*. Reclam issued a translation, as did also Hallberger in Stuttgart, Janke in Berlin, and Hartleben in Vienna. Not to be outdone by his fellow-publishers, Auerbach in Stuttgart started a *Transatlantische Romanbibliothek*, in which *Gabriel Conroy* also appeared. Thus we are presented with the strange phenomenon of a novel, which both American and European literary criticism had assailed unfavorably, appearing seven times in one year in a foreign land, once in Tauchnitz and six times in German translation. The German public was beginning to awaken to the charms of Bret Harte's Far West with its gold mines and its motley adventurous throng and were demanding his latest works as fast as they appeared in America. Auerbach's *Transatlantische Bibliothek* also introduced a new American novelist to German readers in the publication of Howell's *Voreilige Schlüsse*. This year had been a banner year for Bret Harte, ten volumes of his work appearing in various parts of Germany.

The year 1877 was chiefly remarkable for the interest in Louise M. Alcott. Grunow put editions of *Kleine Frauen* und *Kleine Männer* on the market, while Valett and Company (Bremen) issued a cheap edition of *Kleine Frauen*. This was only one of many cases in which Tauchnitz published some popular American novel in English, only to have it followed by numerous German translations in the next year or following years. It cannot be denied that this Leipzig firm did a great and important work in demonstrating to publishers and translators that the new American novel would find as enthusiastic an audience in Germany, both in its original form and in translation as Cooper, Sealsfield, Poe and other earlier masters had found. Grunow continued his activity this year

with two new volumes in the *Amerikanische Humoristen* series, one each by Mark Twain and T. B. Aldrich as well as adding James' *Der Amerikaner* to his *Amerikanische Novellisten*.

Between 1877-1882, Tauchnitz' publication of American novels took a decided step forwards. Two volumes by Aldrich, one by Miss Alcott, the anonymous novel *Democracy*, one volume by Habberton, *Helen's Babies*, eight volumes by Harte, two by Blanche Willis Howard, three by Howells, nine by James, one by Miss Prentiss and six by Mark Twain,—thirty-four in all, were published by this firm.

The *Transatlantische Romanbibliothek*, now in the hands of Abenheim, Berlin, added James' *Die Amerikaner*, Eggleston's *Schulmeister von Flat-Creek* ("ein liebliches Idyll" a reviewer calls it) and Adeler's *Münchhausen in America* in 1877. Abenheim also published two volumes of Bret Harte in inexpensive editions. Miss Prentiss' *Stepping Heavenward*, which Tauchnitz had already published, appeared this same year in German translation³⁷ and reached its third edition.

Bret Harte was again the centre of interest in 1878, Abenheim publishing five volumes at one mark per volume. Howell's *Dean: Bühnenspiel ohne Coulissen* also appeared with Abenheim. Reclam added H. James' *Eugen Pickering* and Janke (Berlin) his *Der Amerikaner*.

Although Reclam issued two volumes of Mark Twain and Abenheim four more volumes of Bret Harte in 1879, the most significant publication was Habberton's *Tante Jettchen* (Abenheim), for this was the first appearance of Habberton, who was destined to become a household name among the Germans, in German translation.

Two newcomers make their appearance in 1880, Boyesen and Julian Hawthorne. Boyesen's *Gunnar*³⁸ made a very good impression and was widely read. Its romantic, poetic legends and superstitions gave the story "etwas naiv-mystisches, das an das Volksmärchen erinnert."³⁹

³⁷ Basel, Schneider, 1877.

³⁸ Breslau, Schottländer, 1880.

³⁹ *Vossische Zeitung*. Sontt. Beil, June 20, 1880.

Barthol and Company in Berlin began their *Englische Romanbibliothek* in 1881, and the first two volumes published were George W. Cable's *Grandissimes*. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* reached its fourth edition and a new *English Library*⁴⁰ published a volume of Mark Twain's *Sketches*.

This *English Library* was not without its rivals, for in 1882 Barthol's *Englische Romanbibliothek*, which had been inaugurated the year before, published two volumes of Francis Hodgson Burnett and one of Albion W. Tourgee. Nevertheless Rudolphi & Klemm kept pace by publishing *Margoric Daw* by Aldrich and Harte's *Tales of the Argonauts*. In Hamburg there arose another rival to these two firms who were giving Germany the best that the authors of Great Britain and America had to offer. This was Asher's *Continental Library*, published by Gradener and Richter. In this year (1882) they put forth two volumes by Miss Burnett, *A Fair Barbarian* and *That Lass o' Lowrie's*, Edgar Fawcett's *A Gentleman of Leisure*, Habberton's *Some Folks* and *Other Folks*, and, in a more expensive binding and under the general title of Asher's *Collection of English Authors, British and American*, another edition of *Some Folks*. Reclam continued its competition with the more expensive publications with Aldrich's *Prudence Palfrey und andere Erzählungen*, Habberton's *Allerhand Leute*, and nine volumes by Bret Harte. Between 1877-1882 began the publication of Anne Katherine Greene's works in Behrend's *Eisenbahn Unterhaltungen* with *Schein und Schuld*, which created a taste for this authoress that kept the publishers of criminal and detective novels very busy for many years to come.

Tauchnitz' publication of the anonymous *Democracy* bore its fruit, for in 1883 no less than four editions of the German translation appeared. A new firm entered the race to gain some of the profit which Bret Harte's works were pouring into publishers' treasuries, namely Breitkopf and Härtel (Leipzig), who published in 1883 a neat volume of Harte's *Neueste Novellen*.

In 1884 and 1885, *Demokratisch* reached its fifth edition.

⁴⁰ Rudolphi & Klemm, Zürich, 1881.

Miss Prentiss had not been forgotten, for *Was Lizzie Erzählte und Gentleman Jim* were issued in one volume by Böhme (Leipzig). Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' *Im Jenseits* reached a second edition in 1885, and Burnett's *Die schöne Barbarin* was added to Barthol's *Englische Romanbibliothek*.

Tauchnitz and the other publishers of various series and Bibliotheken were again unusually prolific between 1882-1886. In these years, Tauchnitz issued one volume by Miss Alcott, one by Miss Burnett, seven by F. Marion Crawford, who entered the German book market at this time, two by J. C. Fletcher (Geo. Fleming), two by Habberton, one by L. B. Halstead (B. Elbon), four by Bret Harte, one by Blanche W. Howard, nine by Howells, one by Helen Hunt Jackson, five by Henry James, Jr., and three by Mark Twain. Reclam between 1883-1886 issued Aldrich's *Die Tragödie von Stillwater* and was the first German publisher to present in translation the famous story by Habberton, *Helene's Kinderchen*. Two developments in this period meant much for the future of the American novel in Germany. Engelhorn in Stuttgart began in 1884 to publish his *Allgemeine Romanbibliothek. Eine Auswahl der bestern modernen Romane aller Völker*. The editions were inexpensively bound in 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. volumes, and thus all classes had access to them. A volume of Boyesen's short stories was the first American contribution and was followed in 1885-1886 by two volumes of Harte. The other important publication of 1886 was the beginning of the *Sternenbanner-Serie*,⁴¹ a series devoted to American humorists. Stockton's *Ruderheim* and Twain's *Unterwegs und Dahcim* were its first numbers. The cost per volume, Mk. 2.50, guaranteed a strongly though plainly bound volume that would stand the wear and tear of time. Asher's *Continental Library* added Mrs. Burnett's *Louisiana*, while Harte's *In the Carquinez Woods* and Julian Hawthorne's *Dust* were the new volumes in Asher's collection in 1886. Rose Terry Cooke, unknown to the large mass of the German people, was introduced to a small religious circle through her *Ein Laicn-Prediger*, published as a religious tractate

⁴¹ Stuttgart, Lutz, 1886.

for 20 Pf. Twenty-six years later (1912) it was republished by Ott in Gotha, but one would have great difficulty in finding a German today who had ever heard of its author.

The period between 1882-1886 had witnessed a great acceleration in the history of the American novel in Germany. Many publishers had taken an interest in American literature, who previously had probably scorned the literary efforts of the "Jenseits." There was a general awakening of interest among all classes, since everyone could afford to buy the cheap Reclam and Engelhorn editions, while Asher's and Tauchnitz's volumes supplied those whose education had given them a reading knowledge of English. The Germans realized that the way to learn a language was to read copiously in that language, and to read something that interests as well as instructs. This trend of thought led naturally to the reading of the best that English and American literature offer, and was thus responsible largely for the keen interest in our novel. American humor became better known through the *Sternbanner-Serie* and increased this interest.

Short stories by Aldrich, Stockton, Bishop, Deming, Matthews and O'Brien were added to the *Sternbanner-Serie* in 1887, while Boyesen and Burnett appeared in Engelhorn. *Der kleine Lord*, by Burnett, was the first German translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, which became as popular as *Helen's Babies* and *Tom Sawyer*. A new translation of Twain's *Prince and Pauper* was published by the Verlag der "deutschen Heimat" in Konstanz as *Fürst und Bettler*. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* appeared in a new edition and, though never known in Germany as a novelist, S. Weir Mitchell became known to German medical students through *Behandlung gewisser Formen von Neurasthenie und Hysterie*. But most significant of all was the publication of a two-volume edition of Wallace's *Ben Hur*, the first appearance of this famous novel in Germany. The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt issued four editions of *Ben Hur* in this year, while O. Hendel (Halle) in his *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur des In- und Auslandes* printed both the usual 25 Pf. edition and a Prachtband edition.

In 1888, Tauchnitz published *Ben Hur* and the *Sternban-*

ner Serie added Twain's *Leben auf dem Mississippi*. In the next year "die Perle der Sammlung," as one critic expresses it, was added to the *Sternbanner-Serie*, namely, Blanche W. Howard's *Guenn*. This reviewer finds in it "eine äusserst seltene Gestaltungskraft und dazu eine echte Poesie der Stimmung."⁴² It is interesting to note that Paul Heyse wrote a warm letter of praise for this novel and its author. *Ben Hur* reached its fifth edition in 1889. The socialistic organ *Vorwärts* brought another name before the German people which soon became universally known, by the publication in its *Berliner Arbeiter Bibliothek* of a fifteen Pf. edition of *Ein sozialistischer Roman (Looking Backward)*, by Edward Bellamy.

Tauchnitz presented a number of new authors between 1887-1890. Besides a volume of Miss Alcott, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Mrs. Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *Sara Crewe*, seven novels by Crawford, eight volumes by Bret Harte, two by Blanche W. Howard and two by Mark Twain, we also find Margaret Deland's *John Ward Preacher* and A. C. Gunter's *Mr. Barnes of New York*. The former pleased because of the comparison between the quaint old-fashioned life of Ashurst and the busy religious atmosphere of Lockhaven.⁴³ Reclam published Bellamy's *Rückblick* and *Dr. Heydenhoff's Wunderkur*, Mrs. Burnett's *Der kleine Lord Fauntleroy* and several others between 1887-1890. The *Sternbanner* added volumes by Cable, Twain and Anne Katherine Green in 1890. Altogether Bellamy's works were published by five firms in 1890, and the edition of *Rückblick*, which O. Wigand (Leipzig) put forth went through six editions in this one year. *A Zehnpfennig Bibliothek* in Berlin published volumes of Boyesen, Octave Thanet (Alice French) and a short story by Mark Twain. Engelhorn's *Romanbibliothek* presented Gunter's *Mr. Potter aus Texas*, while the firm of Lüstener (Berlin) published volumes by Miss Alcott, Habberton, Harte and Stockton. Amelie Rives made her first appearance in *Der Lebende oder der Tote*, while Reclam issued the only work of E. P. Roe, *Wie sich Jemand in seine Frau verliebt*, that ever

⁴² *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, March 30, 1889, p. 213.

⁴³ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 84 (1890), p. 189.

appeared in Germany. Frank Hopkinson Smith, who had not yet been introduced into Germany as a novelist, is represented in 1890 through his book of travel *Pleinair-Studien aus Spanien, Holland und Italien*.

From 1891 on we do not meet with the same difficulty in determining the exact year in which the Reclam and Tauchnitz volumes are issued, for the year is in most cases appended to each volume even when long lists occur in the catalogues. For three years (1891-1893) there is a steady stream of publication of American novelists, but in 1894 a decided falling off occurs, as will be seen from the figures below.

Bellamy was again the central figure in 1891. His *Rückblick* was published in Meyer's *Volksbücher*, which sold at the ridiculously small price of 10 Pf. Reclam reprinted his *Dr. Heydenhof's Wunderkur*, which they had issued the year before, and added *Miss Ludington's Schwester*. O. Hendel (Halle) offered *Maud Elliot* in his *Gesamtliteratur, etc.*, series and Fischer (Berlin) issued a second cheaper edition of *Fräulein Ludington's Schwester*. Tauchnitz published volumes by Burnett, Crawford, Richard Harding Davis, Julien Gordon, Bret Harte and Richard Henry Savage. Davis and especially Savage, the former through his *Gallegher*, the latter through *My Official Wife*, became well known and cherished by German readers in the following years. A new movement to place before the people the best English and American works in the original and at exactly the same rate at which the Tauchnitz volumes sold, Mk. 1.60, was begun in this year in the formation of another *English Library*, by Heinemann and Balestier (Leipzig). Nine volumes by American authors appeared in this first year, the most interesting fact being that the authors chosen were scarcely known up to this time. Mrs. Burton Harrison with *Anglomaniacs* and Mary E. Wilkins with *A Far-away Melody* and *A Humble Romance* had never appeared in Germany before, while Margaret Deland, Amelie Rives and Charles Dudley Warner were practically unknown, whereas Howells and James, the real leaders of the new realistic novel in America, were known to the German public which did not read English, only through the translation of one

volume each. However since this *English Library* presented the novels in the original, it may be assumed that Tauchnitz editions of Howells and James had already revealed the great novellistic ability of these leaders to the cultured German public. Bret Harte continued his unrivalled popularity with editions by Hendel and in Meyer's *Volksbücher*. *Ben Hur* reached its sixth edition, while Heichers and Skopnik (Berlin) published two additional works by Wallace: *Die hehre Gottheit* und *Jesu Kind-schaft*. *Helene's Kinderchen* appeared in Engelhorn's *Romanbibliothek*, as did also two volumes by Julien Gordon. Lutz (Stuttgart) began to issue his *Sammlung ausgewählter Kriminal und Detektiv Romane*, with volumes by Anne Katherine Green and Julian Hawthorne.

There are five new names in 1892, Wolcott Balestier, Ambrose Bierce, Lloyd Osbourne, Kate Douglas Wiggin and Constance F. Woolson. Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library* is responsible for introducing three of these, Balestier, Osbourne and Woolson. Two volumes of Balestier appeared, *The Average Woman* and *Naulahka*, written in conjunction with Rudyard Kipling. Bierce's *In the Midst of Life*, a new Tauchnitz volume, brought forth much unfavorable criticism: "Ich erinnere mich nicht, jemals ein Werk der sogenannten schönen Literatur mit demselben Ekel gelesen zu haben, wie *In the Midst of Life*, von dem ich nicht begreife, wie es in die Tauchnitz collection Aufnahme finden konnte."⁴⁴ No work of Bierce's was ever published in Germany again, a conclusive proof that he created an unsavory impression. The translation of K. D. Wiggin's *Christmas Carol* appeared as *Die Geschichte von Vogel's Weihnachts-Röschen*.⁴⁵ Miss Wiggins was also to have a bright future among her German admirers, as the following years will show. Reimer (Berlin) issued German translations of four novels of Marion Crawford, at exactly the same price as the Tauchnitz volumes, Mk. 1.60, in order to compete on even terms. Edward Eggleston, two of whose works had already appeared in Ger-

⁴⁴ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 88 (1892), p. 444.

⁴⁵ Leipzig, P. Hobbing, 1892.

many, made his last appearance in *The Faith Doctor* (Tauchnitz). This work received great praise as a social satire.⁴⁰ Engelhorn, Lutz and O. Hendel continued their publications of American authors, while Heinemann and Balestier added new works by James and Lloyd Osbourne besides introducing the three new authors mentioned above.

There were no new authors in 1893. This year proved another great year for Crawford, six of whose novels were issued, and Bret Harte, nine of whose works made their appearance. Lutz, whose Detective Series had flourished the year before, only issued one work of this type, A. K. Green's *Endlich gefunden*. Tauchnitz put ten new American novels on the market, the most significant being two by Miss Wiggin, whose popularity had suddenly flared into being the year before. The Deutsche Verlagsanstalt of Stuttgart became unusually active with volumes by Bellamy, Bret Harte (three) and Stockton (two). Margaret Deland's most famous novel appeared as *Johannes Ward, die Geschichte eines Geistlichen*, but she is not heard of again in Germany for the next seventeen years.

The next year (1894) witnessed a decrease of almost fifty per cent. in the publication of American novels. Not a single work of Howells or James, only one of Mark Twain and two of Crawford, to mention the prominent novelists, appeared. Miss Burnett's *Theo, eine Liebesgeschichte*, appeared in two translations, one in Berlin, the other in Frankfurt a/O. Reclam and Engelhorn each published only one American novel, while Tauchnitz' contribution of six novels was not up to his usual standard of ten or more. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* continued popular and reached its sixth edition.

The year 1895 proved to be more disastrous than 1894. Miss Burnett occupies the centre of interest. No less than seven novels by this authoress came from the press, one of them, *Klein Küchen*, reaching its fifth edition in one year. Mrs. Craigie (J. O. Hobbes) makes her first appearance with *The Gods, Some Mortals and Lord Wickenham* (Tauchnitz).

⁴⁰ *Mitteilungen aus dem gesamten Gebiete der englischen Sprache und Literatur*. Beiblatt zu "Anglia," Vol. 3 (July, 1892), p. 93.

Though not frequently translated or even published in the original, this authoress created much discussion and critical comment in German literary circles. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's work on women appeared as *Die Frauenfrage und der gesunde Menschenverstand*, but the author, like S. Weir Mitchell and Frank Hopkinson Smith, never became known to Germans as a novelist. Howells, who had not been heard from since 1891, was restored to the public by Engelhorn in *Pflichtgefühl*.

The American novel was almost restored to its normal basis in 1896, even though it must be admitted that it required Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* to swell the low total output which the last two years had shown. Nine novels by A. K. Green appeared in this collection. Miss Burnett with four novels, Bret Harte with three, Savage with four, and Mark Twain with four, kept these prominent authors in the foreground. Interest in Crawford had received a severe check and we do not hear of him again until 1900. Harold Frederic was the newcomer with two volumes in the Tauchnitz edition, but his *Illumination or Damnation of Theron Ware* displeased a certain critic, because, to use his own words, "Was die Verfasserin selbst denkt, bleibt geflissentlich unausgesprochen."⁴⁷ But Frederic was not disliked by the critics, and the whole German nation has felt grateful to him for his interesting study of Emperor William II, which appeared in 1890.

This leads us to another low mark in the history of America's novel in Germany, for in 1897 the total number of publications falls below the low total of 1894. But it is somewhat encouraging to find at least one new novelist. Stephen Crane made his only appearance in Germany with *Maggie, das Strassenkind*. Harte and Savage lead with three novels each, while Mark Twain's *Millionenpfundnote* is published by two firms. It is quite astounding to note that Tauchnitz published only two novels, Harte's *Ancestors of Peter Atherly* and Savage's *A Modern Corsair*. Heinemann and Balestier continue their reputation for

⁴⁷ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 100 (1898), p. 425. It is difficult to determine why the reviewer thinks that Harold Frederic is a woman, unless it be that his portrayal of feminine character is so minute in its details that only a woman could have interpreted it as he does.

publishing the lesser known American authors by issuing Lloyd Osbourne's *Ebb-tide. A Trio and a Quartette*, written in conjunction with Robert Louis Stevenson. Engelhorn added only one American novel to their collection: Savage's *Die Hexe von Harlem*.

For the next five years (1898-1903), Mark Twain is the great bright light that forces all competing authors into total or semi-darkness. 1898 was a great improvement over 1897, an advance of at least fifty per cent. in productivity. In 1898 Lutz published a series of Twain's *Ausgewählte humoristische Schriften*, consisting of six volumes, also a more expensive binding of *Meine Reise um die Welt*, and *Der Querkopf Wilson* in his *Kriminal und Detektiv* series. Lutz also published three volumes of Stockton, which he also called his *Ausgewählte humoristische Schriften*. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* of Miss Burnett received the honor of being taken into Herbig's (Berlin) series of *Modern English Authors*, a series which included only the very best, as such names as Cooper, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Dickens, Tennyson, E. B. Browning, Robert Browning, George Eliot, Scott, Byron and others testify. This was Mary F. Willkins' best year, with two volumes in Tauchnitz and a volume of translated short stories, published by Perthes (Gotha). Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, which had already appeared in Tauchnitz and in 1886 was published in German, now reached the second edition of the German version. Kürschner's *Bücherschatz*, which had begun only the year before to include American authors in its 20 Pf. and 40 Pf. editions, offered a volume of Savage and one of Bret Harte. Most of Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* reached their second edition, especially those of A. K. Green.

Although 1898 had produced no new American novelist, the year 1899, even though it witnessed fewer volumes published, nevertheless brought some new names before the people. The most important newcomer was Gertrude Atherton, whose works were not frequently translated, but who nevertheless became well known to the educated public and the literary critic through the many Tauchnitz volumes which bear her name. Lutz continued to make good use of A. K. Green and Julian Hawthorne

in his detective series, while R. Jacobsthal in Berlin tried to compete with him in a series of *Amerikanische Detektiv Romane*, containing such immortal names as Old Sleuth, Frank Pinkerton, etc., by adding a touch of real literary flavor in the publication of volumes by Twain and Poe. Another new name which called forth much comment in the periodicals, although not a single work of hers was translated into the German, was Elizabeth Robins (C. E. Raimond) whose *The Open Question* appeared this year. Zwissler (Wolfenbüttel) admitted the first American novelist to his *Hausbibliothek*, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' *Ein eigenartiges Leben im Dienste des Herrn*. Hollis Godfrey appeared for the first time in Germany with his *Rejuvenation of Miss Semaphore* (Tauchnitz).

The year 1900 was another banner year for Mark Twain. No less than ten of his works were published in that year. Aldrich returned after a thirteen years' absence from the German book market in O. Hendel's (Halle) inexpensive edition of *Marjorie Daw und andere Erzählungen* in his *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur*, etc. George W. Cable was also heard from after ten years' silence in a volume of the *Bücherei Bruns* (Minden), namely, *Aus der alten Krcolen-Zeit*. Hollis Godfrey was taken into *Fehsenfeld's Romansammlung* (Freiburg i/B), with *Fräulein Eulalia's grässliches Abenteuer*. Three volumes of Crawford appeared in this collection, indicating a demand for translations of the better authors in inexpensive form, the Fehsenfeld volumes selling for 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* reached its seventh edition, and Blanche W. Howard made her last appearance in Germany with *Toni, die Kammerjungfer*, published in the *Kleine Bibliothek* of Breer und Thiemann. Bret Harte had by no means been forgotten, for *From Sand-hill to Pine* appeared in Tauchnitz and a new edition of *Im Walde von Carquinez*.⁴⁸ Richard H. Davis' *Gallegher* appeared in *Erzählungen aus dem Unterhaltungsblatt für Stenographen*. American novels had on more than one occasion been used for reading and writing exercises by various shorthand systems, but this is the

⁴⁸ Rheinische Union, Stuttgart, 1900.

first appearance of an American novel as pure entertainment designed especially for stenographers.

Mark Twain in 1901 fell one short of his 1900 record, with nine volumes published in Germany by seven different firms. A new edition of *Ben Hur* appeared in Berlin (A. Weichert), Miss Alcott's *Little Women* appeared twice and three volumes of Mrs. Burnett, including of course *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, helped to increase her already great popularity. Cable's *Aus alten Kreolen-Tagen*, issued the year before by Bruns in Minden, seems to have pleased, for a new edition appeared in 1901, better bound and more expensive than the year before. It is interesting to recall the doubt expressed by a certain critic, upon the appearance of *Old Creole Days* in America back in 1888: "Wie lange er aus dieser Quelle (*i. e.*, the life of the old French settlers of New Orleans) schöpfen kann ohne sie zu erschöpfen, und ob er auf einem anderen Felde ebenso erfolgreich sein wird, ist fraglich,"⁴⁹ and then to note how true this prophecy seemed to the Germans when *Bylow Hill* appeared: "*Bylow Hill*, seine erste im Norden spielende Erzählung hat enttäuscht. Wenn auch der Dichter in der Person der Helden und ihrer Mutter südliche Typen nach Neuengland verpflanzt hat, so scheint er doch dort nicht in seinem Element zu sein."⁵⁰ A very important newcomer of this year is Frank Norris, whose *Octopus* appeared in Tauchnitz. Norris' name became very well known in the next few years.

The wave of publications, which had been at its height in 1891 and 1892, and again between 1896-1901, with low points in 1894, 1895 and 1897, experienced another decided drop in 1902. This proved to be the last low mark, even though the increase in publications up to the banner year of 1912 was not as rapid as the increased output of novels in America seemed to warrant. Four editions of *Ben Hur* appeared in 1902, the Volksausgabe of the Deutsche Verlagsanstalt reaching its eighty-third edition and the more expensive edition by the same firm its eighty-second. In Reutlingen, Enslin and Laiblin issued a Volksaus-

⁴⁹ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, May 22, 1888, p. 341.

⁵⁰ *Das literarische Echo*, Sept., 1902, p. 1712.

gabe and a better edition. Bret Harte seemed to lose no popularity, as five volumes from him testify. But Miss Atherton, James, Howells, Miss Wiggin and Miss Wilkins are not heard from. Mrs. Burnett is second to Harte with four volumes, two of them being *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Grunow's edition of Miss Alcott's *Kleine Frauen* reached a third edition. Crawford and Savage each received an addition to their lists.

The number of novels in 1903 was almost double that of the previous year. There are four new names to add to the list: Irving, Bacheller, Thomas Dixon, Jr., Henry Harland and George Horace Lorimer. Bacheller's *Eben Holden* did not excite much interest, for only one other work of his has up to this time been published in Germany. The possibility of Dixon's *Leopard's Spots* retarding or at least injuring the proper development and education of the negro by picturing him "als ein raubsüchtiges, blutdürstiges Gesindel" wherever he appears, caused much unfavorable criticism.⁵¹ Henry Harland, the publication of whose works in the next four years was restricted to Tauchnitz and Engelhorn, became known to Germany through *The Cardinal's Snuff-box*. We find it variously described as "Eine Töchterpensionatgeschichte" and "eine reizende idyllische Liebesgeschichte." Lorimer's *Briefe eines Dollarkönigs an seinen Sohn* was eagerly read and ran up to six editions in this and the following year. Mark Twain, however, was still par excellence the American author, and in 1903 another set of his *Humoristische Schriften* appears with Lutz, including five novels. Besides these, four other volumes, in two cases later editions of works in Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane*, appeared. In Velhagen und Klasing's *English Authors*, Miss Alcott's *Good Wives* was published.

Little Lord Fauntleroy and *Ben Hur* had become so well known that they proved the most popular works of 1904. Three English and one German version (*Der kleine Lord*) appeared, and three editions of the latter were issued. K. Thienemann (Stuttgart) issued a splendid new leather edition, with gold edg-

⁵¹ Cf. *Literarisches Centralblatt*, July 4, 1903, p. 202, and *Das literarische Echo*, June, 1902, p. 1283.

ing, for Mk. 10, as well as cheaper editions, down to Mk. 4. Miss Atherton was gaining in favor, as three new Tauchnitz volumes demonstrate. The new names for the year are Jane G. Austin and Henry F. Urban. Miss Austin's volume of short stories appeared with Velhagen und Klasing and marked her only invasion of Germany. Urban, an American who wrote in German, and therefore is scarcely known in America, became very popular because of his supposedly true pictures of American life. The Concordia Verlagshaus (Berlin) published almost all of his works in Germany. Paul Leicester Ford was added to Lutz' *Kriminal Series* with *Das Abenteuer im Expresszug*, which reached a fifth edition in 1911. His better works, such as the historical novel *Janice Meredith* never became known to the Germans. "Als Geschichtsforscher und Bibliograph," says a critic who had read *Janice Meredith*, "hat der Verfasser Vorzügliches geleistet . . . als ein belehrendes Geschichtsbuch ist es zu empfehlen."⁵² A new work of A. K. Green's, *The Filigree Ball*, which with one exception was her only novel seriously considered by any literary critic, did not provoke very favorable comment. The volume is spoken of as "unsinniges Geschwätz," and the authoress "hat ihrer Phantasie die Zügel schiessen lassen."⁵³

Mrs. Burnett with five volumes in 1905, Bret Harte with five, and Mark Twain with four, give the best proof to the statement that the old favorites did not soon lose the affection of the people after they had once made themselves popular. But a real rival to the old guard had developed formidable proportions by 1905 in the publication of four works by Miss Atherton. There were no new authors this year. Howells returned after an absence from the book-market of four years, with *Miss Bellard's Inspiration* (Tauchnitz). Lorimer's *Neue Briefe, u. s. w.*, were published by Fleischel and reached four editions. Habberton's *Helen's Babies* was included for the first time in Velhagen und Klasing's school texts, in the section for *English Authors*. Miss Wiggin's *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* became so popular that

⁵² *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 5, 1900, p. 791.

⁵³ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, April 22, 1905, p. 173.

Engelhorn issued a translation, *Rebekka von Sonnenbachhof* in a four-mark edition instead of his usual 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. volumes.

Three important features characterize the development in 1906. *Ben Hur* had gained such wide-spread popularity that seven editions appeared, two of these being in Graz, Styria. Another feature is the only appearance of Westcott's *David Harum*, which had appeared in America seven years before (1899). In Germany it was looked upon as "typisch amerikanisch," but for that very reason it pleased readers and critics alike who were always anxious to learn more concerning the genuine unadulterated small-town American citizen.⁵⁴ A more important novelty of the year was the publication of Upton Sinclair's *Der Sumpf* (*The Jungle*) in a bound edition and a Volksausgabe, besides an inexpensive edition of the same author's *Der Industriebaron*. Sinclair's *Sumpf* aroused almost as much interest as it did in America and was commented freely upon not only by literary critics, but also by German commercial and governmental interests. Mrs. Edith Wharton, only two of whose works appeared in Germany, but who nevertheless received constant attention by the critics, made her debüt in *The House of Mirth*. There is another whom Germany had not known before this year, but who leaped into fame at one bound—Lafcadio Hearn. His *Kokoro* and *Lotos*, four thousand copies of the latter being sold the first year, appeared in German translation with the Literarische Anstalt, Frankfurt a/M. Irving Bacheller made his second and last appearance in *Silas Strong*, a novel which the Germans felt was written for American readers alone: "Andere dürften in dem mageren Inhalte und der absonderlichen Schreibweise wenig Gefallen finden."⁵⁵

Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s *Schwarz und Weiss* appeared in 1907, although it had been announced to appear in 1904. The criticism of the American original, *The Leopard's Spots*, in 1903 had been so severe that the Hesperus Verlag in Berlin hesitated to issue

⁵⁴ *Das literarische Echo*, Dec. 1, 1899.

⁵⁵ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, Dec. 7, 1907, p. 420.

the translation until the tumult had somewhat subsided. Two more versions of Mrs. Burnett's *Der kleine Lord* appeared, as well as her *Die hübsche Schwester von Jose* in Kürschner's Bücherschatz. Hearn had become so well known that Tauchnitz published three of his works, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, *Kokoro*, and *Kwaidan*, while *Isumo* appeared in translation at Frankfurt a/M. The two important newcomers are Jack London and Tom Lawson. The former's *Wenn die Natur ruft* was the only novel of London's to appear in this year, but one of his political studies appeared as *Munizipalsozialismus in England*. Lawson's *Freitag der Dreizehnte* was not taken seriously by German critics, a fate which had already befallen the original in America. While it was being translated into many languages and reached countless masses of people in all Europe as well as in Germany, we find that the prevailing opinion sums it all up with "Mangel an künstlerischem Formensinn in Aufbau der Handlung wie in der dürftigen Sprache."⁵⁶ Another reviewer is a little harsher when he speaks of London's work as "ohne literarischen Wert," and later, "es wirkt wie eine überlegene Parodie auf sich selbst."⁵⁷ The long-expected translation of Norris' *Octopus*, which was published in the Tauchnitz series in 1901, finally appeared in 1907, and almost immediately reached a second edition. *Ben Hur* was again issued by three different publishers, while Mark Twain had another unusually good year with six volumes. Miss Wiggin had become especially known to the younger people through Freytag's "Schulausgaben" of her works, and her *Rebekka von Sonnenbachhof* now became accessible to all in the 50 Pf. Engelhorn edition.

Mark Twain had seen the rise and fall of many minor authors, but continued to remain as popular as ever. In 1908 new editions of four of his works came out. Hearn's *Kyushu*, with three thousand copies sold the first year, kept this author before the people. Owen Wister was translated and introduced to Germany for the first time in *Novellen aus dem Abenteuerle-*

⁵⁶ *Das Literarische Echo*, Sept. 15, 1907, p. 1800.

⁵⁷ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, June 22, 1907, p. 218.

ben des Wilden Westens. Such works as McGrath's *Der Mann auf dem Bock* continued to be translated and published in Engelhorn, Kürschner, Meyer's Volksbücher, etc., but cannot claim our attention here.

Lutz' criminal and detective stories had reached so many editions that he published a more expensive series called *Detektiv Gryce Serie*, in 1909 and 1910. The series consists of six volumes by A. K. Green, all of which had already appeared in cheaper form. They were advertised as being far above the average criminal novel and not to be confused with "anstössige Lektüre" of the Nick Carter type. We find that the *Vossische Zeitung* remarks, concerning one of these six novels, *Hinter verschlossenen Türen*: "Wohlthuend rührt es, dass der Verfasser diese Wirkung nicht durch die Spekulation auf den Instinkt für das Sensationelle, sondern vielmehr durch die geschickt ersonnene Handlung, und deren mit psychologischem Verständnis durchgeführte Entwicklung erreicht." Again we read in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, referring to *Schein und Schuld* and *Hand und Ring*: "Was soll man über diese Erzeugnisse sagen? Sie sind jedenfalls nicht von der schlechten Art, wenn sie uns auch den Eindruck machen wie alle Vertreter dieser Gattung, nach einem und demselben Rezept verfertigt zu sein."⁵⁸ This indicates that there was not an absolute aversion to this higher grade detective-literature, especially since the critic adds: "Es soll literarisch sehr anspruchsvolle Menschen geben, die die Versuchung, einen Detektivroman zu Ende zu lesen, nicht widerstehen"—Hearn's *Kwaidan* now appeared in German translation and soon reached its third thousand. A new *Ben Hur* was published by Schreiter (Berlin) in the *Sammlung Kulturhistorischer Romane*, which included such novels as *Quo Vadis*, *Monte Cristo*, *David Copperfield*, *Der ewige Jude*, *Glöckner von Notre Dame*, etc. Clara Louise Burnham made her only appearance in Germany in *Juwel—Ein Kapitel aus ihrem Leben*. Sinclair's *Die Börsenspieler* went through two editions, and Mark Twain added five more publications to his list.

⁵⁸ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, March 26, 1910, p. 136.

The year 1910 finds Hearn leading the list with eight new publication or later editions of old works. F. H. Burnett and Bret Harte have four volumes this year, while Twain has six. Urban's new book, *Die drei Dollarjäger aus Berlin*, met with the same hearty welcome that all his previous works had experienced. Many Germans read all of Urban's works, who had never heard of Howells, James or Miss Atherton. The American dramatist, with whom the American drama, according to certain critics, takes its beginning in 1870, Bronson Howard, is represented in this year of 1910 with his only work which found publication in Germany, *Mceresgold*. As a dramatist Germany never knew him. Howells had not been entirely forgotten, for his *Tuscan Citics*, originally published in Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library* in 1891, now reappeared after nineteen years in a new edition. Even Henry James, Jr., had not appeared on the new book lists since 1892, but Tauchnitz rescued him and restored him to the public in *The Finer Grain*.

The year 1911 records no diminution of interest in *Ben Hur*. Five editions were published in this year. Many of Twain's works received new editions, while Harte only had one work published. It can be seen that, popular though Bret Harte was, he could not outstrip Mark Twain in the estimation of the German people. Three editions of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* appeared, two being English school texts, the other being published by the Lehrerhausverein für Oberösterreich in Linz. After nineteen years, Heinemann and Balestier issued a new edition of Balestier and Kipling's *Naulahka*. The Literarische Anstalt of Stuttgart published *Das Japanbuch. Eine Auswahl aus Hearn's Werken*, which reached its twelfth thousand. In Twietmeyer's *Sammlung englischer Originalausgaben für Schul- und Privat-Studium*, Lorimer's *Letters from a Self-made Merchant to His Son*, which had already appeared both in Tauchnitz and in translation, was revived for school use.

The banner year of all was 1912, even though it presents the paradox of having the most American novels published within its limits, without a single work of the most popular American author, Mark Twain, being among them. Henry James, Jr., had

received a new lease on life, as two new volumes testify. Jack London increased his reputation with three Tauchnitz volumes and another volume, *Wolfsblut*, in German translation. Harte and Hearn had only one volume each, while F. Marion Crawford appeared with two. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* continues its phenomenal popularity with four new editions, three German and one English. An English and a German edition of *Helen's Babies* were published. Stockton's *Ausgewählte Schriften*, originally published in 1898 by Lutz, appeared in a new edition. Norris' *Pit* is published as *Die Getreidebörse*. Two of Miss Wilkins' novels were published in Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library*. Miss Allcott's *Aus der Knabenwelt* and *Aus der Mädchenwelt* each reached its third edition.

The last year which we shall consider (1913) indicated a decided decrease from the year before. Although Twain is well represented and Jack London holds his prominent place with three new Tauchnitz volumes, Harte, Howells and James have absolutely disappeared, while Crawford, Wallace and Burnett each have only one volume published. It seems almost fitting that it should be so, namely, that the names of Harte, Howells and James, the leaders and teachers of the later American realistic novelists, should close through their departure, not necessarily forever, this great period which they had opened.

The remaining pages of Chapter II are devoted to a chronological table, which summarizes statistically the history of our novel in Germany, 1871-1913, and to a general statement of the determining factors in that history. This study has brought us to the brink of the Great World War of 1914, whose influence upon German American cultural relations cannot be foreseen, nor even imagined.

(c) *Chronological Table.*

(Containing the number of American volumes of the later school of novelists [1871-1913] published in Germany, both in the original and in translation, and not including certain works without literary merit, which appeared only in the cheapest

Volksbibliotheken. A few works are also included which were written in collaboration with foreign authors.)

1871-1876	:	32	1900	:	31
1877-1882	:	88	1901	:	34
1883-1886	:	59	1902	:	19
1887-1890	:	72	1903	:	33
1891	:	41	1904	:	28
1892	:	43	1905	:	41
1893	:	34	1906	:	39
1894	:	17	1907	:	45
1895	:	15	1908	:	29
1896	:	29	1909	:	30
1897	:	16	1910	:	42
1898	:	30	1911	:	46
1899	:	25	1912	:	52
			1913	:	27

Summary:—87 novelists; 997 novels or volumes of novelettes.

(d) *Determining Factors.*

In attempting to fix some definite causes for the rising and falling of the American novel in Germany, one is confronted by a confusing array of facts and circumstances, some of which may have had a general or even a particular influence, but most of which bear too remote a relation to the problem on hand to give us much enlightenment. It is the purpose in the following section to point out some of these circumstances and to attempt an assignment of them to their proper place in the history of the American novel in Germany, wherever that is possible.

With eighty-seven American novelists and nine hundred and ninety-seven American novels or volumes of short stories (or novelettes) published in Germany between 1871-1913, with a host of minor writers of fiction, whom we do not mention in the same breath with American literature, we cannot say that our novel has been neglected in Germany. But that it might have had even greater success under other conditions may be gleaned from the following interesting circumstance. The American

novelist has rarely taken as his background the life and customs of Germany and the Germans. This may be because the Frenchman, the Italian, the Spaniard, and even the Englishman exhibit more of the romantic and sentimental in their external life than the German. The best qualities of the German are usually bound up in his innermost personality and come to the surface only when put to the test. He is introspective and individualistic in his private life and does not lend himself to the pliable treatment that the average American novelist demands. In consequence, the German and his country have been brushed aside when foreign themes and backgrounds were searched for. A. B. Maurice⁵⁹ has pointed out that, of the leading American novels dealing with foreign countries, twenty-six had their background in the British Isles, twenty-one in France, twenty-four in Italy, four in Germany and one in Austria. In the Tauchnitz collection, which included four hundred and thirty-seven of the most prominent works of sixty-eight American authors, up to June, 1914, only six deal directly with German or Austrian conditions.⁶⁰ Evidently Germany and Austria have not appealed to the American novelist's imagination. It is reasonable to assume that, had the same attention been given to Germany as to Britain, France and Italy, at least those novels dealing with Germany would have been translated and read, and would doubtless have led to a keener interest in American letters. Here, then, we find a very good reason for the apparent lack of interest among Germans in our novel-literature taken as a whole, such as, *e. g.*, is accorded the French, Russian and British novel-literature. This, however, did not affect the diametrically opposite warmth of interest in our most uniquely American products, such as those of Harte, Twain, Habberton, Bellamy, etc.

The various histories of America literature and important literary contributions, which discussed American literature, did

⁵⁹ *Bookman*, Vol. 27 (1908), p. 246.

⁶⁰ Gertrude Atherton: *Tower of Ivory* (Munich).

F. Marion Crawford: *Greifenstein* (Schwarzwald).
A Cigarette-Maker's Romance.

Blanche W. Howards: *The Open Door*.
The Witch of Prague (Prague).

Mark Twain: *A Tramp Abroad*.

contribute their share in stimulating interest. We noted above that Scherr's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur*, even in its later editions of 1875 and 1880, had given but little separate recognition to our literature and had mingled our authors indiscriminately with the British authors. But it is nevertheless gratifying to find that a genuine *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur*, by Brunnemann, appeared as early as 1868. Although this immediately precedes the opening of our period, the work probably aroused little attention. Very enthusiastic in its spirit, it leaves no real hope in the minds of students that a great future is in store for the literature of our reconstructed Republic. But in 1876 appeared Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika in populärer Darstellung* (Auerbach, Stuttgart). It was illustrated with numerous wood-cuts and contained three maps. It was meant for the public at large and unquestionably added to the interest and understanding of America among the German middle classes. The increase of eighty-eight published volumes in the five years between 1877-1882 over the thirty-two between 1871-1876 is very significant and may be traced partly to Higginson's work. Ernst Otto Hopp's *Unter dem Sternenbanner. Streifzüge in das Leben und die Literatur der Amerikaner*,⁶¹ was an important contribution to the spread of knowledge concerning America and her literature. Rudolf Doehn's *Aus dem Amerikanischen Dichterwald* (Leipzig, 1881), was an attempt to formulate a chronological history of American literature, but it became known to but a limited circle of people, and probably exerted no influence on those who had heretofore not concerned themselves with American men of letters. As early as 1883, Eduard Engel added an appendix on American literature to his *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*, and later this was published separately as *Geschichte der Literatur Nordamerikas*. Wülker, the greatest of all among the historians of English literature in Germany, refused to add an account of American literature, "weil diese Literatur selbständig, nicht als Anhängsel behandelt werden müsse." Engel's work, though short and concise, but written in his warm, sympathetic tone of admiration, prob-

⁶¹ Bromberg, Fischer, 1877.

ably helped to make the fifty-eight volumes published in three years (1883-1886) so encouraging an increase over the thirty-two volumes in five years of the preceding decade (1871-1876). Karl Knortz, who had already done much in stirring up interest in Germany for our literature through his translation of our poets, contributed a masterful work in his *Geschichte der Nord-amerikanischen Literatur*.⁶² This was an attempt to fill a long-felt need, for Engel's work, though splendid in quality, was too sketchy to give sufficient information on any particular subject. But Knortz' two-volume history was a "work which for comprehensiveness, accuracy and appreciativeness compares favorably with any of our own text-books on American literature."⁶³ Its striking fault is that it tries to be too comprehensive and includes many minor authors who contributed little or nothing to our literature. In reviewing Knortz' work, Ernst Otto Höpp, author of *Unter dem Sternenbanner*, remarks: "Es steht zu fürchten, dass auch diese Knortz'sche Literaturgeschichte amerikanischer Namen kein grosses Terrain erobern und die Papierkosten des Verlegers kaum decken wird."⁶⁴ Unfortunately it cannot be stated that this most thorough of all histories of American literature in Germany had any direct influence on the reading and spread of contemporary American novelists. After two years in which the novel seems to hold its own, the terrific slump of 1894-1897 occurs. At the opening of this period, in 1894, a series of lectures was delivered by Frank Sintenis in the University of Dorpat, including lectures on Bret Harte, Bellamy and Mark Twain. These were published under the title of *Literarische Ansichten in Vorträgen*, but can scarcely have reached far beyond the small circle of those who heard the lectures. Following close upon Sintenis' work, we find Edward Payson Evans' *Beiträge zur Amerikanischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1898). This is a work of undoubted merit. Its author was born in America, but since 1870 had been living in Germany and was for all practical purposes, a German. This volume, which had previously appeared as a series of articles in

⁶² Lüstenöder, Berlin, 1891.

⁶³ H. H. Peckham in *South Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1914, p. 382 ff.

⁶⁴ *Englische Studien*, Bd. XVII (1892), p. 237.

prominent periodicals, seems to place a new life and meaning into our literature for the German, and it cannot reasonably be doubted that the increased demand for American literature, which resulted in the increased publication between 1898-1901 can be partly attributed directly to Evans' incisive and interesting articles.

In 1899, Karl Federn, an Austrian who had made a name for himself as an authority on Nietzsche and who was an ardent admirer of Emerson, published a group of *Essays zur amerikanischen Literatur*, including papers on Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau.

The very next year (1900) appeared Anton E. Schönbach's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Literatur* (Graz, 1900), in which various phases of German, Austrian and American literature were discussed. Besides separate essays on Cooper, Longfellow and Hawthorne, we find an excellent résumé of the new American novel in the essay *Der amerikanische Roman der Gegenwart*. Schönbach's character-studies and fair-minded and scholarly valuation of our fiction are worthy of the highest praise. His ability to interest readers in the subject under discussion must have opened many eyes to the wealth of literary effort across the Atlantic. About this time there was a great flood of works in Germany on America and they contributed to the growing knowledge and interest in every phase of American life. Oswald Flügel's *Die nordamerikanische Literatur* (Leipzig and Vienna) appeared in 1907, the year which was superseded only by 1911 and 1912 in the number of American novels published in Germany. The publication of Professor Alphonso Smith's lectures at the University of Berlin in the winter semester of 1910-1911 under the title of *Die amerikanische Literatur*,⁶⁵ made a tremendous impression in German literary and university circles, and it is not a matter of chance that 1912 forms the high-water mark in the tide of production of American novels. Kellner's Göschen edition of *Die amerikani-*

⁶⁵ Berlin, 1912.

sche Literatur (1912) probably did its share in making our literature popular. The following year (1913) however cut the total of fifty-one practically in half with only twenty-six publications.

Certain other works must be given their share of the credit for awakening a German interest in American fiction. Our historians, Motley and Parkman, had both been translated, Motley's works appearing at Dresden in 1857, while Parkman's appeared at Stuttgart in 1875, the translation being by Kapp. Schlaf, besides translating Whitman, wrote an excellent work on the man and his literary work, and even attempted to imitate him in German, without however acquiring much success. One of the best articles ever written on Lowell, we are reminded by H. H. Peckham,⁶⁶ was written by A. E. Schönbach.⁶⁷

This leads us to the part played by the periodicals in Germany. A constant stream of articles on the older and newer writers of our literature has appeared in the best German journals. Miss Colbron⁶⁸ is therefore far from right when she states that "the same literary journals which come out strong in praise of our classics, which give full mead of praise to Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe . . . these same journals turn with cold scorn from our newer writers." If it would serve any purpose, a long list of articles could be found dealing with our very latest literature and dealing with it fairly, discriminatingly and thoroughly. One of the leaders in this respect is the *Magazin für Literatur*, so-called since 1891. From 1832-1880 it was known as *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (M. f. d. L. d. A.) and from 1881-1890 as *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*. Its long articles and reviews came to the attention of many people and doubtless led many to examine into our literature. Ever since January 4, 1873, this periodical has had a column entitled "Amerikanischer Büchermarkt," in which American works in both German and English are announced. *Englische Studien*, which first appeared in 1877, makes scarcely any mention of

⁶⁶ *South Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1914.

⁶⁷ *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Neueren Literatur*, Graz, 1900.

⁶⁸ *Bookman*, March, 1914, p. 47.

American literature up to and including 1899, with the exception of terming Engel's history an "Anhängsel" and severely criticizing Knortz' splendid two-volume history. However, since 1900, *Englische Studien* has devoted a column regularly to "Amerikanische Literatur," where the newest works are ably discussed. *Das literarische Echo*, since 1898, has had an excellent review of the latest literary happenings in America in many numbers. It would be useless to even mention the countless periodicals and newspapers which have presented regular critical columns, carefully edited essays, encomiums, eulogies, appreciations and necrologues on American authors. Besides these, many periodicals and daily newspapers published American poetry and prose works in the form of substantial translations. As an example of this, the *Deutsche Rundschau*, between December, 1878, and June, 1888, printed five complete novels of Bret Harte in long serial form. In fact, so ardent and zealous were German periodicals to acquire and print the very latest that America had to offer, that one of these stories, *Aus Californien's frühen Tagen*,⁶⁹ appeared in a German periodical, even before it appeared in English, by virtue of a special arrangement made by the owners of the magazine. The *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* (especially the *Beilage*), the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, all have done valiant service in keeping our literature before the eyes of the people of Germany. It is a fact worthy of note that the reviews and criticisms of American works show a marked increase, as the years went by, in the appreciation of our American viewpoint, and can be said to be at present far more valuable, as well as more searching, than was the case thirty or more years ago.

A word in passing might be said concerning the part played by publishers in introducing the American novel into Germany. Some firms printed the English originals only, others the German translations only, and still others both. The Tauchnitz firm has published the works of sixty-seven American authors in neat, convenient pocket editions. All over Germany various "Eng-

⁶⁹ *Deutsche Rundschau*, Oct.-Nov., 1880, p. 268 ff.

lish Libraries" have sprung up, those of Heinemann and Balestier (Leipzig), Rudolphi and Klemm (Zürich), Asher's *Continental Library* (Grädener & Richter), Kühtmann (Dresden), *Modern English Authors* (Berlin, Herbig), being the most important. Then there have been special series of Schulausgaben by Velhagen & Klasing, Lindauer (München), Regensburg (Münster), A. Twietmeyer (Leipzig), Buchholz and Diebel (Troppau), and others. Reclam has published the works of many American authors in German translation, making them accessible to all people because of the cheap binding. Other series which include American authors in their lists of inexpensive editions are: *Englische Romanbibliothek* (Barthol & Company, Berlin), *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur des In- und Auslandes* (Halle, O. Hendel), *Berlepsch Romanbibliothek* (Regensburg, Habel), *Bücherei für die Jugend* (Wien, Pichler), *Weichert's Wochenbibliothek* (Berlin), *Zehnpfennig Bibliothek* (Berlin), Meyer's *Volksbücher* (à 10 Pf.), *Bibliothek der fremden Zungen* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart), *Felsenfeld's Roman-sammlung* (Freiburg i/B), Kürschner's *Bücherschatz*, Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* (Stuttgart), *Amerikanische Detektiv Romane* (Berlin, Jacobsthal), Zwissler's *Hausbibliothek* (Wolfenbüttel), *Der neue Roman* (Berlin, Hartmann), *Singer-Bücher* (Strassburg, J. Singer), *Weber's moderne Bibliothek* (Heilbronn), *Unwin Library* (Leipzig), *Jugend und Volksbücherei* (Regensburg), *Hesse's Volksbücherei*, etc. There are altogether between ninety and one hundred firms, some of them in Austria and Switzerland, which have, between 1871-1913, published one or more American novels either in the original or in translation. To the work of these firms, mercenary, though it may have been, and spurred on as they were chiefly by a vigorous competition, we must nevertheless assign that share of credit which is due each agency that has helped to make America better known abroad.

There is another factor which helped to lead Germans into a deeper study of our fiction, namely, the appreciation and respect which Germany already had for our poetry. Between 1864 and 1909 twenty-six anthologies were published in Germany, de-

voted either entirely or in part to American poetry. In 1864 appeared Karl Vollheim's *Perlen der neuen englischen und amerikanischen Lyrik*,⁷⁰ and in 1865 Friedrich Spielhagen's *Amerikanische Gedichte* (Leipzig). Then came Adolf Strodtmann's *Amerikanische Anthologie* (Hildburghausen, 1870). These three collections were important, since they appear at the very threshold of the period which we are treating. A. I. Roehm⁷¹ finds that American poets have been translated far oftener than British poets in Germany, but that the quality of the translation is correspondingly weakened.

Longfellow and Poe are the only American poets whose works have been completely translated by the Germans, but Bryant, Whitman and Taylor are represented with good collections. Byron was translated only half as many times as Longfellow, but while A. Böttger's Byron translation went through six editions, only two of the fifteen German translations of *Evangeline* reached a second edition. Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* was translated only half as often as *Evangeline*, but Waldmüller's translation of *Enoch Arden* went through thirty-five editions. Boehm remarks: "Trotz anscheinlich günstigen äusserlichen Verhältnissen, finden wir also auf dem amerikanisch-deutschem Gebiet eine im grossen Ganzen sehr minderwärtige Übersetzungsliteratur." But the nine complete or selected translations of Longfellow, and especially the fifteen translations of *Evangeline* and nine translations of *Hiawatha* demonstrate clearly how great a demand there was for his works. Knortz' excellent biography of Longfellow also became well-known. Although Knortz thought Longfellow too highly sentimental and effeminate and not sufficiently substantial, that his popularity was due to his mildness and gentleness, his great sincerity and sympathy rather than because he took any decided stand on any important issue, yet he says of him: "Liebenswürdig und anziehend ist seine Muse, vollendet sein Formtalent, ausgezeichnet sein Gefühl in der Wahl passender Rhyth-

⁷⁰ Leipzig, Wenger, 1864.

⁷¹ Chicago University, Ph.D., Diss., 1910.

men und Metren."⁷² A. Baumgartner said: "Eine Englische Literatur ohne Longfellow ist so unvollständig als eine französische ohne Rousseau, oder eine deutsche ohne Rosegger."⁷³ Edmund Gosse declared Longfellow to be as true a poet as ever breathed. There is thus ample proof that our greatest poet was known and appreciated by many Germans, and this is quite as true of Walt Whitman.⁷⁴

Knortz wrote a biography of Whitman, and Johannes Schlaf not only wrote a work⁷⁵ on this poet, but translated and even imitated his poetry in German. The fact that Whitman was not included in Knortz and Dickmann's collection called *Modern American Lyrics*,⁷⁶ called forth a storm of protest in Germany. "Aber was soll man zu einer Mustersammlung amerikanischer Lyriker sagen, in welcher Walt Whitman ganz und gar durch seine Abwesenheit glänzt. . . ." But Ferdinand Freiligrath found Whitman a great enough poet to translate, and Eduard Bertz called him the greatest master of "Stimmung" of all ages.⁷⁸

An article in the *Athenaeum* for March 11, 1876, speaks of the unjust treatment accorded Whitman by magazines, publishers, critics, etc., in America and adds: "Der alte Mann lebt noch, und soll man wenigstens den Versuch nicht unterlassen, ihm nach diesem harten Tagewerke einen weniger trüben, nicht von Noth

⁷² Longfellow, *Literarhistorische Studie*, Hamburg, 1879, Grüning. Cf. also *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Jan. 25, 1879, p. 59.

⁷³ *Magazin für Literatur*, Feb. 19, 1898, p. 1898.

⁷⁴ Cf. O. E. Lessing: *Whitman and his German Critics*, in *Journal of English and German Philology*, Vol. IX (1910), p. 85 ff.

⁷⁵ Johannes Schlaf: *Walt Whitman*, Vol. 18 of *Die Dichtung* (1904). Of this work Lessing says (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, X, p. 91): "This little book is an unparalleled example of high-handed arrogance, cowardly imposition and utter ignorance." Lessing further declares Schlaf to have been completely incompetent as a critic of Whitman, not having read more than fifteen per cent. of his work and having but a very imperfect knowledge of the English language.

⁷⁶ Leipzig, 1880.

⁷⁷ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 4, 1880, p. 505.

⁷⁸ Bertz considerably modified his opinion of Whitman after he had made a more thoroughgoing study of the underlying personality of the man. (Cf. E. Bertz: *Walt Whitman, ein Charakterbild*, Vol. VII of *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1905.) Bertz was then so vigorously attacked by Schlaf that he was forced to defend himself by exposing the latter in *Whitman-Mysterien* (1907) and *Der Yankee Heiland*.

und Mangel heimgesuchten Lebensabend zu bereiten, und nicht erst seinen Tod zu erwarten, um ihm eine späte Anerkennung in Marmor oder Bronze zu zollen." And the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* adds:⁷⁹ "Wenn Deutschland,—das trotz aller Behauptungen auswärtiger Pressen, in geistiger Beziehung am freiesten dasteht, freier als das der selbstgeschmiedeten Fesseln begränzter geistiger Anschauung sich erst allmählich bewusst werdende England, freier als der diese Fesseln mit Stolz zur Schau tragende Freistaat der Neuen Welt—für den jeder Fessel trotzens amerikanischen Sänger auch nicht viel tun kann, so wollen wir ihm wenigstens die Beachtung nicht vorenthalten, welche die eigne Heimat ihm versagt." What a warm-hearted tribute from a foreign shore to a poor, ridiculed, friendless old bard, to whom his own country had turned its back and had coldened its heart.

Is it then too much to say that this keen interest in Germany for our poets, these twenty-six anthologies, these many translations of cherished poems,⁸⁰ and these splendid tributes to their memory must have created an interest in the literary efforts of the Republic across the seas and must have thus helped create the demand for our better fiction? It is undoubtedly true that the appreciation of the delicate art of Longfellow, Poe, Whitman,⁸¹ Whittier, Bryant, Lowell and Taylor gave our country a reputation for imaginative genius and creative power that led Germans to inquire into the work of a Bret Harte, a Mark Twain, a Howells, a James, and a score of others who formed the formidable company of new novelists.

Perhaps another reason for Germany's approval of and participation in our later American novel may be found in the close touch which certain of our literary men have had with Germany. Bayard Taylor, for example, was always a friend and admirer of the Germans and their literature. He spent part

⁷⁹ April 29, 1876, p. 259.

⁸⁰ Roehm found fifteen translations of *Evangeline*, nine of *Hiawatha*, nine of Poe's *Raven*, eight of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, five of Whittier's *Maud Muller*.

⁸¹ In spite of much unfavorable criticism such as that mentioned above.

of two years, during which he traveled afoot through Europe, in Germany (1844-1846) and during the very last year of his life he was the accredited minister of our Government at Berlin (June to September, 1878). He had only been in Berlin a few months when he died. But he had gained impressions that appeared the following year in *Studies in German Literature*,⁸² and in turn Germany had gained an impression of love and respect for him that has never died. Many tributes to his memory appeared in the German periodicals, and most of them voiced the closer touch that had been created between Germany and America through the personality of this man. To quote from one of them: "Was Wunder also, dass das deutsche Volk dem grossen Bayard Taylor als Gesandten der Vereinigten Staaten Republik ein so einstimmiges Wohlwollen entgegnetrug, wie wohl noch nie dem Gesandten einer fremden Macht. Eine tiefe Sympathie verband ja beide—Bayard Taylor und das deutsche Volk. . . . Kommende Geschlechter werden ihn nennen, die nie in sein freundlich-inniges Antlitz geschaut, nie seine treue Hand gefasst, nie ein Wort aus seinem Munde gehört. Denn ob auch der Hauch seines Mundes verweht, sein Wort, sein Dichterwort bleibt. . . . In der neuen Welt geboren, und in der alten gereift, hat er sein Volk gelehrt die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, auf dass die Brüder einander kennen; dessen bleibt Deutschland eingedenk."⁸³ That there was a decided increase in the publication of American novels after 1878 is undoubted, and it may easily have been partly brought about through the popularity of Bayard Taylor. It might also be added that Mark Twain and others came into close and cordial personal relations with Germany, and did a great deal in demonstrating the real essence and fibre of the American spirit, leading more or less directly to a greater appreciation of our literature.

There is nothing in the political relations of Germany and America which influenced the reading of our novel abroad. Even the Spanish-American War failed to mark a definite epoch in the

⁸² New York, 1879.

⁸³ *M. f. d. L. d. I. u. A.*, Feb. 22, 1879, p. 117.

development. In fact, eleven years after the war (1909) the number of publications had fallen below the mark set by the Peace Jubilee Year of 1898. The professorial exchange system, begun about 1906, may have stimulated interest, since 1907 marks the highest point in the whole history of our novel in Germany with the exception of two years, 1911 and 1912.

It must always be borne in mind that, whereas certain factors may have had a broad general influence in increasing or decreasing the number of American novels published, it nevertheless remains for the popularity of the individual author, whatever the reason for that popularity may be, to determine the degree of interest with which he is received in a foreign land. The Bibliography which forms Chapter III of this work, will show clearly who these most popular authors were.

CHAPTER III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[This bibliography contains a complete list of American novels, within the limitations described in Chapter II (a), published in Germany and in certain Austrian and Swiss centres between the years 1871 and 1913, inclusive. The translations are indicated either (a) by the German title, (b) by the name of the translator, which is added in parentheses wherever obtainable, or (c) by (———) wherever a German title was not used and the name of the translator was not available.]

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